HELSINGIN YLIOPISTO

Language Policy and Language Choice Among English Students at a Finnish University

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Tutkielmassa tarkastellaan kielipolitiikkaa ja kielivalintaa erään suomalaisen yliopiston englannin opiskelijoiden keskuudessa. Tutkimus pyrkii selvittämään, missä määrin yliopiston virallisen kielipolitiikan voidaan nähdä vaikuttavan opiskelijayhteisön sisäisiin kielivalintoihin ja käytänteisiin sekä myös millä tavoin opiskelijat itse neuvottelevat kielipolitiikkaan ja kielivalintaan liittyvistä kysymyksistä yhteisön opiskelijahallinnossa. Tutkimus esittää neljä pääkysymystä: 1) Mikä on yliopiston virallinen kielipolitiikka koskien englannin ja suomen käyttöä opiskelijayhteisön sisäisessä hallinnossa? 2) Minkälaisia käsityksiä ja tulkintoja opiskelijoilla on kielivalintaa koskevasta kielipolitiikasta opiskelijayhteisön hallinnossa? 3) Kuinka havaittavat kielikäytänteet opiskelijayhteisössä suhteutuvat yliopiston viralliseen kielipolitiikkaan sekä opiskelijoiden käsityksiin kielivalintaa koskevasta kielipolitiikasta? 4) Minkälaisia mielipiteitä tai näkemyksiä opiskelijoilla on opiskelijayhteisön hallinnolliseen kielivalintaan liittyen?

Tutkimusaineistona ovat yliopiston virallinen kielipolitiikkadokumentti sekä tekijän itse keräämät ääninauhoitteet kahdesta opiskelijajärjestön hallituksen kokouksesta, kahdesta opiskelijajärjestön alla toimivan opiskelijalehden kokouksesta ja kolmen, statuksensa perusteella valitun opiskelijajäsenen haastatteluista. Opiskelijakokouksissa tarkasteltiin koodinvaihdon esiintymistä kielivalinnallisena neuvottelutaktiikkana sekä opiskelijoiden harjoittamaa kielellistä säätelyä sekä itseään että toisiaan kohtaan. Opiskelijahaastatteluilla pyrittiin selvittämään haastateltujen käsityksiä ja mielipiteitä kielipolitiikasta ja kielivalinnasta tarkastelluissa hallintokonteksteissa.

Tutkimuksen perusteella voidaan sanoa, että opiskelijoiden oma rooli opiskelijayhteisön sisäisessä kielipolitiikassa on paljon virallista kielipolitiikkaa merkittävämpi. Yliopiston virallinen kielipolitiikka linjaa yliopiston monikielisyyttä ja täten kansainvälistä tieteen tekemistä tukevaksi ympäristöksi, ja monikielisyyden tukeminen ulottuu myös yliopistoyhteisön sisäiseen kommunikaatioon ja aktiviteetteihin. Samanaikaisesti kielipolitiikka kuitenkin linjaa kotimaiset kielet priorisoitaviksi. Opiskelijoilta kerätystä keskusteluaineistosta kuitenkin selvisi, että opiskelijat ovat melko rajatusti tietoisia tai edes kiinnostuneita yliopiston virallisista ohjeistuksista ja suosituksista. Sen sijaan kielivalinnalliset käytänteet näyttävät opiskelijayhteisössä siirtyvän eteenpäin vanhemmilta opiskelijoilta opittuina konventioina. Opiskelijajärjestön hallituskokouksien oletuskielenä oli suomi, kun taas opiskelijalehden toimituskokouksissa pääasiallinen käyttökieli oli englanti, mutta molemmissa konteksteissa esiintyi vaihteleva määrä koodinvaihtoa toiseen kieleen. Haastattelut opiskelijoiden kanssa paljastivat, että kielivalintakeskustelua opiskelijayhteisössä näyttävät ohjaavan kaksi päätekijää: yhtäältä kontekstisidonnainen käytännöllisyys, toisaalta identiteetin merkitys englannin opiskelijana suomalaisessa yliopistossa.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
Kielipolitiikka, kielivalinta, koodinvaihto, englannin opiskelijat, opiskelijahallinto, opiskelijaidentiteetti

Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited
Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto

Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information

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1 Introduction

The status of English in the academic environments of non-Anglophonic countries has emerged as a huge topic of debate in the recent years. In the globalised world where it is of benefit to share scientific research and innovations internationally, a common language in the research fields is a must. English has become the worldly recognised lingua franca of today, and academic institutions support and encourage its usage in the research, teaching, communication and social interaction in academic environments. However, concerns have arisen for the academic status of the local languages as English seems to have gained an increasingly stronger foothold in the academic institutions in non-English-speaking countries. The debate has been particularly keen in the Nordic countries (Linn 2010, Ljosland 2011, Kuteeva 2011), where the discourse has driven some universities into issuing official language policies and guidelines to mandate the handling of questions of language choice and adapting their study programmes to respond to the questions regarding the coexistence of English and the local languages in the academy.

Much of the earlier discourse on the matter has focused on the administrative level of the institutions and the official language policing from "above". I am interested in contributing to the discourse by providing a student point of view. I will consider the topics of and relationship between language choice and language policing practices at a particular Finnish university's English student organisation. I am interested in the dynamics between the university language policies and the actual application of language policy to language choice practices amongst the students. I will be paying close attention especially to ways language choice and language practices are negotiated in the semi-administrational level of student activities and event organisation and management.

To map out these policing and negotiation dynamics, I take an ethnographic approach by applying pre-existing theories on *language policy* (Spolsky 2012, Nekvapil 2006), codeswitching (Myers-Scotton 2006, Romaine 1995) and its connection with language choice, and *markedness* and *rational choice* (Myers-Scotton 1998, Elster 1989) on my own data collection. It will be a compilation drawn from three main sources: a) the official written language policy document issued by

the university, b) self-collected tape-recordings from administrative student meetings and c) personal interviews conducted with hand-picked students from the community. I will also draw theoretical and practical ideas from two earlier case studies conducted in similar academic environments of high education. In my study I will try to answer the following questions:

1) What are the official policies regarding language choice between English and Finnish in the semi-formal administrative student settings?

2) What are the students' perceived policies regarding language choice between English and Finnish in the analysed settings?

3) What are the actual language practices in the analysed settings and how do they align with the official and perceived policies regarding language choice?

4) What kinds of opinions or perceptions do the students have about language choice in the analysed and other student settings?

The structure of the thesis is as follows: I present my main theoretical approaches and the two earlier case studies in Chapter 2 and discuss my methodology further in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 covers the analysis of my own data, from codeswitching in the student meetings to the personal viewpoints gathered from the interviewed students. In Chapter 5 I discuss my results against the theoretical background, and in Chapter 6 I present a final overview of the themes and findings of my study.

2 Concepts and Theoretical Background

In this chapter I present my main theoretical approach, background, and concepts relevant to my own study. The chapter is divided in five subsections. In section 2.1 I present my chosen theoretical approaches to *language policy* and set the framework within which I will handle the topic in my own analysis. Section 2.2 covers the approaches I have chosen to take to the phenomenon of codeswitching, and together with Myers-Scotton's (1998) *Markedness Theory* and Elster's (1989) *Rational Choice Model* presented in section 2.3 I set the framework for discussing the matter of language choice in a multilingual academic environment. In section 2.4 I present two earlier case studies on language negotiation amongst university students, which I use for a theoretical comparison with my own study, and finally in section 2.5 I provide some hypotheses on the results of this thesis.

2.1 Defining *Language Policy*

Linguistic experts struggle with coming up with a concise definition for the term *language policy*, but as I have chosen to focus my study around the concept, I must provide a general framework for what I mean by it in this context. Bernard Spolsky (2012) explains the field of language policy via the concept of language "planning". Going back to the creation of the field after WW2 when many societies were undergoing comprehensive rebuilding, Spolsky explains how contemporary linguists were seeking to resolve the language problems of newly independent states by "endeavors [of] language planning", which ultimately produced a "language policy, an officially mandated set of rules for language use and form within a nation-state" (Spolsky 2012:3). Spolsky acknowledges, however, Nekvapil's (2006) call for "language management" as a more suitable term for the continual process, with its results more like "strategies" than "plans", and its execution more of a "continual" nature in "[modifying] to fit specific and changing situations" (Spolsky 2012:5).

Elaborating on Spolsky and Nekvapil's ideas at a more general level, language policy may be defined as a set of rules mandated by a body of authority that aims at establishing and regulating the language choice practices that are deemed valuable, appropriate and practical for that specific speech community and the goals it is trying

to achieve. However, as can be interpreted from Nekvapil's notes, the process of establishing and maintaining a permanent language policy is rarely possible, and it should rather be considered as more of an on-going process of continual management that should at best be adapted to the situation in practice.

All in all, Spolsky sees the field of language policy to be divided into three related but independent components. The first component comprises of the "real" language policy, that is, the actual language practices of the speech community. This can mean, for example, what variety (or code) the speakers use for the different "communicative functions that they recognise" (2012:5), what variants (or codes) they choose to use with particular interlocutors, or how they express or conceal identity with those variant (or code) choices. The second component comprises of the values "assigned by members of speech community to each variety and variant" and their "beliefs about the importance of these values" (2012:5). The second component therefore strongly confirms the influence of the first component and is largely formed by it. The third component was already described above: that is the "planning" and "management" component, the attempt at imposing an official policy from above by forcing or encouraging with authority a certain kind of language practice. In Spolsky's argument, the constitutionals or legal establishment of the national or official language in the newly independent states after WW2 is the example of language management. However, as Spolsky concludes at the end of establishing the three components: "As speed limits do not guarantee that all cars abide by them, so a language law does not guarantee observance" (2012:5). By this he of course means that it is the first component of language policy, rather than the third one, that tends to ultimately dictate the outcome practices. This is a phenomenon that will become relevant in my study, too, which I discuss further below.

In a bi- or multilingual environment, such as my object of study, the concept of *language choice* will become relevant as an interfering factor within the concept of *language policy*. As stated above, in matters concerning institutional language policies, practice tends to bypass theory, as it is the language choices of the individuals of the speech community that ultimately dictate the actual linguistic reality over the institutional guidelines. The layers of language choice include not

only the communally agreed-upon linguistic repertoire in general (e.g. Finnish and English as the language alternatives) but also the contextual negotiation of the language(s) that are to be used (e.g. communally encouraging the use of English in certain contexts and Finnish in others), and the choices of the individuals to adhere to or deviate from these communally negotiated policies. The individual aspect of language choice mainly manifested as different levels of codeswitching behaviour, the extent of it highly depending on the speaker, and that is why I shall also define a framework for codeswitching analysis in the next section.

2.2 Defining Codeswitching

Codeswitching as an indicator of language choice and expression of identity will play a significant part in my analysis, so it is necessary to provide a framework approach that I will be applying. According to Carol Myers-Scotton, "[the] most general definition of codeswitching is […] the use of two language varieties in the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton 2006:239). Moreover, "classic codeswitching includes elements from two (or more) languages [sic] varieties in the same clause, but *only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause"* (emphasis original) (2006:241). By "morphosyntactic frame" Myers-Scotton means "all the abstract grammatical requirements that would make the frame well-formed in the language in question" (2006:241). Myers-Scotton distinguishes two structures that qualify as codeswitching: inter-sentential and intra-sentential (or, intra-clausal) switching. The inter-sentential structure includes full sentences of each variety following each other while in the latter case the switching occurs within a singular clause, for example by saying one word in one variety and the rest of the clause in the other.

Gumperz defines codeswitching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" and these "items in question form part of the same speech act" (Romaine 1995:121). Romaine applies Poplack's (1980) identification of codeswitching types, which in addition to Myers-Scotton's inter- and intra-sentential structures also include a third structure, tag-switching, which involves the "insertion

of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language" (Romaine 1995:122) such as "I mean" or "you know". Intra-sentential codeswitching may also include "mixing within word boundaries" (Romaine 1995:123) so that the result is words in one language with inflectional morphology from the other language, which is also what occurs in my own data in several cases.

In my own data analysis I will apply these structural frames to map out the ways in which the English students use codeswitching, and the frequency of their doing so in different situations. I will illustrate with examples from each of the settings that I observed the application of codeswitching on inter- and intra-sentential levels. I shall apply Myers-Scottons and Poplack's definitions of intra- and inter-sentential codeswitching (interchangeably with lexical and phrasal/sentential codeswitching), in that intra-sentential (or lexical) codeswitching refers to the use of singular words in one language within a sentence in the other language. Inter-sentential (or phrasal/sentential) codeswitching means here the use of whole sentences or phrases within a conversation that is otherwise mainly conducted in the other language. I will show how in the cases where Finnish was assigned as the default language of interaction, it acted as the morphosyntactic frame into which English would be mixed on both lexical and sentential level. As for the cases where English would be assigned as the default language of interaction, I shall illustrate how the Finnish-English mixing was done exclusively on a sentential level and was more contextually induced than English mixed in with Finnish.

Codeswitching also became a matter and indicator of personal language choice in some of the settings for some of the students. All the students who were present in the studied settings or whom I interviewed for this study were fluent in both English and Finnish, but still would use codeswitching as a mechanism to choose the situational non-default language that suited their own preferences, even if it made them stand out amongst their student colleagues. I shall present the themes of, and connection between linguistic *markedness* and *rational choice* in the next section.

2.3 Myers-Scotton's *Markedness Theory* (Elster's *Rational Choice Model*)

In my study I will apply parts of Myers-Scotton's (1998) *Markedness Model*, a version of Elster's (1989) *Rational Choice Model*. Elster summarises the theory behind the Rational Choice Model in the following terms: "When faced with several courses of action, people usually do what they believe is likely to have the best overall outcome" (Elster 1989: 22). Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model is a "version" of Elster's Rational Choice Model in that it "looks for messages of intentionality in the choices speakers make", and its main premise is that speakers and hearers "recognize linguistic choices as either unmarked or marked" (Myers-Scotton 2002: 206). I found this particularly relevant and interesting in terms of the opposing language choices in the two sets of student meetings I attended. Judging by my data findings and my interviews with the students, I will argue that, in the bilingual student settings that I observed markedness was always assigned to one of the languages, depending on the setting, and even in situations involving a considerable amount of codeswitching, the unmarked option tended to be complied with by observing the Rational Choice Model. I will discuss this further in Chapter 5.

To wrap up my background and theory chapter and to set a methodological framework for my own study, in the next section I shall present two earlier studies done on language policy and language choice in higher education student settings similar to that of mine.

2.4 Case studies

2.4.1 *Receptive Multilingualism* between Finnish and Estonian university student organisations

As I am presenting the student perspective on the questions of language policy by considering the language choice and practices in a university student organisation against the institutions official language policy, I have taken a look at earlier studies addressing similar circumstances. The primary theoretical framework that I have chosen to apply for my thesis is Hanna-Ilona Härmävaara's study on *receptive*

multilingualism among members of an Estonian and Finnish student organisation (Härmävaara 2017). Härmävaara conducted a study on the multilingual language use among university students from two different language backgrounds and it comes thematically and methodically so close to my study that I decided to apply some of the methods and structural choices to my work.

Härmävaara studies the language policies of two friendship student organisations from the University of Tartu and the University of Helsinki. The analysis focuses on the shared language policy for the use of "receptive multilingualism" (RM) in written communication between the two organisations. The policy was established in the "agreement of friendship" in 1933 between the two institutions as a part of the national Romantic movement that emphasised the linguistic and cultural similarity of Estonia and Finland, and used it as a basis for a friendship alliance in the post-WWI Europe. "Receptive multilingualism" in this case means that even if the participants use different languages, Finnish and Estonian, they do still understand each other, and a separate lingua franca is not necessary in most situations. This particular RM policy between the two student organisations mandates that the participants write official letters to each other in their respective native languages, but in practice the policy has been later interpreted and applied in a wider context, which stretches also to oral communication in the student organisation's meetings still today. In place of the agreement of friendship in Härmävaara's study context I will apply the official language policy document of my chosen university and the languages that I am juxtaposing are Finnish and English.

In her study Härmävaara applies an "ethnographic approach", which, according to McCarthy, comprehends language policy as a "dynamic social process always situated in a certain cultural context" (McCarthy 2011) (Härmävaara 2017:202). Härmävaara argues for the strength of the ethnographic approach in investigating language practices on multiple levels, and from both macro- and micro perspectives utilising different types of data. The macro perspective means the consideration of the official language policy issued from above, in this case the official statements made in the agreement of friendship between the two student organisations. The micro perspective was gained from carrying out a survey and collecting conversationalist data from the students themselves in an attempt to figure out their

perceptions and interpretations of the policy in practice. Combining the two perspectives becomes necessary due to the fact that, much like what I reported on Spolsky stating about the components of language policy above, it can consist of explicit and implicit policies (e.g. Schiffman 1996, 2006) – explicit policies comprehending "stated rules such as legislation or official agreements" (Härmävaara 2017:202) and implicit policies concerning language practices, ideologies and beliefs in the community itself. Kaplan and Baldauf use the division of language policy into "top-down" and "bottom-up" processes, the former referring to policies put in place by governments or institutions, and the latter one formed by communities and individuals themselves (Kaplan and Baldauf 1996). These terms are comparable not only with Schiffman's explicit and implicit policies but also with Preisler's ideas of "policing from above" and "from below" (Preisler 1999) and in my own analysis I will use there terms interchangeably.

The study methods and data sources that Härmävaara used were a) the original official policy recorded in the agreement of friendship b) a sociolinguistic survey which was answered by both alumni and current students in the universities, and c) self-collected video-recorded conversational data from different kinds of interactions between the students. The two latter sources of data Härmävaara combined to analyse the ways of interpretation of the official and perceived policies in practice and to map out what kinds of beliefs the students have regarding the language choices and practices in the organisations.

The general results from the survey revealed that, despite the RM policy still holding relevance in the organisations today, not all respondents knew about the official recorded policy or only vaguely knew the contents of the particular statement in the written document. This suggests that the written document is not central to the community but that rather the policy has been passed down through the generations in practice and through oral information (Härmävaara 2012:209). There were also discrepancies between how the policy was perceived by the members and how it was actually applied in practice. The members reported that while the policy had a strong influence in official interaction between the organisations, language skills tended to be a more significant factor affecting language choice in informal interaction between the individual members. Mutual understanding was deemed more critical

than following the official RM policy and that is why the members would renegotiate the language choice between Estonian, Finnish and English in each individual context of informal interaction, and RM would be only one of the options.

In general, the ideologies of "ideal" and "practical" seemed to be in competition. According to the survey responses, although described as "laborious" RM was deemed as the favourable ideal medium of communication. The words referring to applying RM were strongly positive by nature, whereas words referring to English use were more neutral or even negative, although English would also be credited for being the "easy" and "polite" choice to take with students who struggled more with the neighbour language.

Finally, Härmävaara raises questions regarding the equality of language modes. She addresses the potentially unequal opportunity for participation for members who have an "unequal access" to the language of interaction. Due to the perceivable conflict between ideological reasons for choosing a certain language and the practicality of ensuring mutual understanding in individual situations of interaction, the local negotiation for language choice remains continuous. Despite the aiding role of English as a common language being welcome in the community, RM is clearly a significant aspect of the friendship alliance and holds its status in "maintaining traditions" as well as standing as a "marking of locality" and belonging together as "Finnic people" (Härmävaara 2017:218). This kind of identity-based justification for certain kind of language use becomes very relevant and apparent also in my analysis results and I shall look closer into it in my discussion of results.

Taking on Härmävaara's study on language policy, language choice and language ideologies dictating the linguistic behaviour and language practises of Finnish and Estonian students in Tarto as a framework, I will consider similar language dynamics amongst the English students at my chosen Finnish university. My methods of data collection and analysis hold similarities to those of Härmävaara's: I, too, chose to combine macro and micro perspective approach by drawing my data from several types of sources, i.e. considering the official language policy issued by the university, and then attending in person and collecting tape-recordings of conversational data from student meetings affiliated with the English student organisation. In addition to this, instead of a survey but comparable to that method, I

conducted person-to-person interviews with three student members that I considered relevant and representative to answer for the student community with regards of my research interests. I will talk about my data and methodology more closely in Chapter 3.

2.4.2 *Parallelingualism* at Roskilde University's International Studies in the Humanities

Another relevant study regarding the coexistence of multiple languages in an academic student setting comes from Janus Mortensen (2014) who explored language choice and the application of the policy of "paralle(l)ingualism (Linn 2010) at an international study program at Roskilde University. This approach of "the principle of the parallel language use" issued by the university was an official local response to the debate over the generally increased use of English in high education in Nordic countries during recent years (e.g. Ljosland 2011 and Kuteeva 2011). In practice the principle means that programmes following the policy of paralle(l)ingualism are provided in two parallel versions, English and Danish, and the students then choose one or the other. However, as Mortensen's findings reveal, this separation of the languages did not always reflect the actual linguistic practices of the students.

Applying Spolsky's (2004) work on language management components and extending Preisler's (1999) ideas of "English from above" and "English from below" to language policy, Mortensen studied language choice by focusing on the ways in which "local language policy is being created 'from below'" (Mortensen 2014:426) in the social practices of the students at the study program. In his study Mortensen observed three student project groups at the programme of International Basic Studies in the Humanities (HIB). The HIB programme was originally taught multilingually in English, German, French and Danish, but English has gradually gained a major position as the default working language. Because this development has been happening through practice rather than issued by the administration, Mortensen considers it to be enacted from below, that is, from the community itself, rather than strictly from the institutional level of the university. Mortensen's main

method of analysis was recording study meetings of the three groups and selecting sequences of language alternation for further analysis.

In the general results Mortensen found that the student groups in the HIB programme, consisting of mainly L1 Danish speakers, oriented mostly towards English as the working language, but some of them would also add in or switch to Danish in several studying situations. The extent to which the different groups would use English as a "monolingual medium" and English and Danish together as a "bilingual medium" would slightly differ between the groups. Generally Danish would often surface in situations where the group discussion split into two or more independent overlapping conversations, a phenomenon referred to as "schisming" (Egbert 1997), or when the topic of discussion would be referring to something existing outside of the group meeting situation. However, the students would engage in both self-repairing and reprimanding of each other over the use of Danish to switch back to English, which would further confirm the dominant position of English in the institutional frame. This sort of linguistic behaviour would seem to go against Preisler's "principle of complementary languages" (Preisler 2009) which predicts that "English is used when not all members of a transnational communicative network know Danish [whereas] Danish is used when all members … can be expected to know Danish" (Preisler 2009:13). Mortensen thought that this behaviour could have stemmed from several alternative reasons. One was a question of inclusion, as not all participants were native Danish speakers. With this Mortensen leans on Bell's theory of "audience design" (Bell 1984, 2001) which basically means choosing a language that best accommodates the skills of the audience (see also "addressee specification" in Gardner-Chloros et al., 2000), in this case speaking English to include the students who do not speak Danish as an L1. Another way of style-shifting in Bell's theory is the "referee design", which positions the speaker "in relation to speakers not present in the immediate context of interaction" (Mortensen 2014:432). This is a mere question of identity-building, here choosing English for "doing being an international student" (Mortensen 2014:426), even if being a native Danish speaker. A third function of switching between languages is to use it as a "contextualisation cue" (Gumperz 1982) where a switch from language to another works as a signal to "create a transition from off-task to on-task activity" (Mortensen 2014:434).

When it came to Danish use, Mortensen observed that it tended to be used in breaks and when topics related to something outside of the institutional frame of university. Furthermore, in some of the groups Danish was most commonly used in asides and parallel side sequences (Jefferson 1972), attended by only some of the members. This sort of "peripheral use of Danish" matched the status of English as the preferred medium (Mortensen 2014:436).

Taking from Mortensen's work in Roskilde University, I shall draw parallels between our analyses in terms of similar methodology, conversation analysis, community-based language policing and linguistic and academic identity as a factor affecting language choice in the multilingual student settings.

2.5 Hypotheses

Drawing from my theoretical background and two case studies, and before presenting my own data and methodology, I suggest the following set of hypotheses for my own study: I hypothesise that, much like in the earlier similar studies, my data will also suggest that while official policies and guidelines regarding language choice in the multilingual academic environment of this university have been institutionally issued, the practical execution of those policies will be applied and negotiated much more strongly by the students themselves. The outcome of this negotiation may differ from the goals set by the official guidelines to some extent. I also hypothesise that the negotiation amongst students will be affected by both the situational context of the language interaction, and the individual backgrounds of the students, which will have a social impact on how they perceive those contexts and hence may differ depending on the individual on varying levels.

In the following chapter I shall present my own study design in detail, reminding the reader of my main research questions and introducing my data sources and methods of analysis to answer those questions.

3 Data and Methods

The data to be analysed in this study is a compilation drawn from three main sources: a) the official written statements on language policy and practices from the official language policy document issued by the university b) self-collected tape-recordings from four different student group meetings affiliated with the English student organisation and c) self-collected tape-recordings of interviews with three English students in positions of authority, or otherwise active in those administrative student groups. I will consider my data on the basis of the following questions, presented already in Chapter 1, but repeated here for the sake of clarity:

1) What are the official policies regarding language choice between English and Finnish in the semi-formal administrative student settings?

2) What are the students' perceived policies regarding language choice between English and Finnish in the analysed settings?

3) What are the actual language practices in the analysed settings and how do they align with the official and perceived policies regarding language choice?

4) What kinds of opinions or perceptions do the students have about language choice in the analysed and other student settings?

My research question number 1) will be answered in light of the university's official language policy document. Questions 2), 3) and 4) will be considered against the conversational data collected from the four meetings and the individual interviews conducted with three students, hand-picked by myself for the purposes of this study. I chose an ethnographic approach by taking on the role of a participant-observer and doing audio recordings from two meetings of the English student board and two editorial meetings of the English students' web magazine. Then I conducted personal interviews with three relevant student members: 1) "Jenna"[1], the president of the English student organisation 2) "Laura", the chief editor for the English student magazine and 3) "Victor", a concurrent bilingual student who is both an official in

[1] All names mentioned in this study are pseudonyms.

the board and a writer for the student magazine. For the purposes of anonymity, all the names of the individuals mentioned in this study have been changed. I chose the president of the student organization and the chief editor of the student magazine for their respective leadership positions in this community of practice, as I consider these positions to give them a notable level of both explicit and implicit authority over language choice in their administrative settings, whether they themselves acknowledge it or not. As my third interviewee I chose Victor because of his significantly different linguistic behaviour in the meetings, compared to the other students. He had caught my attention by choosing English as his language medium to a notably larger extent than the other students, even though he seemed to be fluent in Finnish too. In my interview I wanted to ask him about his views and experiences as a concurrent bilingual student on language choice and language practices in the student community.

To reiterate: for the purposes of as much anonymity as possible, the names of all people mentioned in this study have been changed. I have done everything I can to eliminate as many indirect identifiers as possible, but due to the nature of this study complete anonymisation was not possible, and some of the students may be identifiable from this study by at least some of their contemporary student colleagues and members of staff. For the same reasons, I also shall not quote the university's official language policy directly but instead I will paraphrase its main contents that are relevant to my study questions. This provides me a means of including the policy document as a part of my analysis but also avoiding marking it down as a reference, as it would reveal the institution that I have otherwise only categorised for the purposes of data protection. I will consider the audio data findings against the official language policy of the university, and compare and contrast the meeting recordings and interview findings with each other to see how my interviewees' perceptions relate with the actual perceivable practices that surface in the meetings and other student activities.

The audio recording data were gathered from four different meetings from the English unit's student organisation to observe the language choice and language practices amongst the participants. Two of the meetings were the student organisation's board meetings, and the other two were the student magazine's

editorial meetings. All meetings occurred in the spring of 2018. I chose these particular settings because they are semi-formal and hence I expected that they provide interesting circumstances for the specific linguistic dynamics that I am interested in my study. On one hand the meetings have official, predetermined structures, and the participants in the meetings have officially allocated positions and roles in the context of the meeting that determine what is expected from them in the setting. On the other hand all participants are young students, many of them friends outside of the meeting context, and they are completely volunteering in their positions with very different levels of experience in such administrative matters. Hence I hypothesised that whilst the communication is partially structured and restricted by the predetermined formal frames of the setting, the informal elements brought in by the voluntary student context and the interpersonal relationships of the participants might have an interesting interplay within the communication.

I chose to gather data from two meetings per both units in order to get comprehensible and comparable data. However, with both units the participant assemblies were partly different between the meetings, and the lengths of the meetings varied from thirty-five minutes to one hour and forty-five minutes.

Student Board	1st meeting	2nd meeting
whole recording	1h45m45s	1h05m51s
meeting duration	1h40min	58min

Table 1. The durations of the student board meetings

Magazine's editorial board	1st meeting	2nd meeting
whole recording	43m26s	56m47s
meeting duration	36min	55min

Table 2. The durations of the magazine's editorial meetings

From tables 1 and 2 one can see the varying durations of the meetings: as for the board meetings, the first meeting is around forty minutes longer than the second one, whereas for the magazine's editorial meetings, the difference is twenty minutes.

Student Board, English as a marked choice	1st meeting	2nd meeting
"Jenna"	x	x
"Victor"	x	x
"Eetu"	x	
"Laura"	x	
"Kaisa"	x	x
"Valtteri"	x	
"Pipsa"	x	
"Sini"	x	x
Myself	x	x
Other students (8)		

Table 3. Participants in the student board meetings

Student magazine, Finnish as a marked choice	1st meeting	2nd meeting
"Laura"	x	x
"Victor"	x	x
"Iida"	x	x
"Petra"	x	x
"Viivi"	x	x
"Siiri"		x
"Joonas"		x
"Jeppe" the dog		x
Myself	x	
Other students (2)	x	

Table 4. Participants in the student magazine editorial meetings

Tables 3 and 4 show the participants at the board meetings and the magazine's editorial meetings, respectively. The cells marked with yellow emphasise the participants who were present in only one of the meetings studied; the cells left white show the participants who were present in both. I have provided the pseudonyms of the people whose presence is relevant in terms of the analysis or the results, and I have categorised the irrelevant ones as just "other students". Relevance was given to the students whom I interviewed later into the study, students whose names reoccurred in my transcriptions to a notable extent, and to students whose presence affected the quantitative codeswitching results significantly.

I was personally present at both board meetings but only one of the magazine's editorial meetings. For the latter editorial meeting that I was unable to attend, I

authorised the chief editor to tape-record the meeting on my behalf and send the audio to me afterwards. I only told the meeting participants that I would be observing "language dynamics" in the English student community of the university, never mentioning codeswitching as not to give away my objective, which could have made them too aware of it and therefore compromised the results. At the meetings my presence was acknowledged and explained by the president and the chief editor, respectively, and I let the participants know that I was going to tape-record them during the meeting. After this I sat silently at the table recording and taking notes, not participating in the discussion in any way. In my notes I wrote observations about the language choices and language shifts before and upon the official opening of the meetings, and upon and after closing them. Planning ahead on making transcriptions of the codeswitching occurrences in the meetings, I wrote down the time stamps of the occurrences that I noticed already during the meetings, as accurately as I could, to facilitate my transcription process afterwards. Hence when I listened to the tapes later, I had most of the main occurrences pre-marked and it was easier to focus on noticing any parts that I had potentially missed in the meeting.

For the purposes of my study I decided to apply the broad technique to the transcribing process: I did not transcribe the entire meeting recordings but typed down only the occurrences of codeswitching, surrounded by a few preceding and following speech turns to provide necessary context for the switch. As for the typography of spoken Finnish, I chose to apply a generic form of southern urban Finnish variety, as most of the students were fluent in it. Spoken Finnish is generally relatively straight-forward to write because, unlike in the English language, in the Finnish language one letter equals (approximately) one phoneme.

I chose pseudonyms for all the relevant speakers and categorised the non-relevant as numbered students. Relevant speakers include my three interviewees and then students who spoke up a lot during specific meetings, causing their names either to reoccur in my transcriptions on a notable level, or their presence or lack there-of significantly to affect the quantitative results of the codeswitching types between the different meetings. For example, certain students tended to engage relatively more in inter-sentential codeswitching, using entire speech turns in the marked code (in this case, English), while others would codeswitch intra-sententially, using singular

words in the marked code within speech turns otherwise in the unmarked code (Finnish). Tables 3 and 4 show the participants per meeting and further below I will present some figures to illustrate the connection between particular meeting participants and the varying levels of codeswitching in the meetings.

The second major data source was the three interviews I conducted with the president of the student organisation, the chief editor of the student magazine and the one student active both in the board and in the magazine. I conducted all the interviews one by one at two student cafeterias at the university campus on pre-agreed times. I had told the interviewees more precisely about the topic of my thesis to give reasoning why I had picked them in particular – Jenna and Laura for their leader positions and Victor for his exceptional linguistic behaviour while being a participant in the administrative student activities. Upon the start of the interview, I showed them the tape-recorder and asked if they were consenting to have the interview recorded. I also asked for their consent for having the interview in English so that I would be able to quote the interviewees straight in my analysis and discussion without having to translate their comments from Finnish. I had drafted 5-10 starting questions for each interviewee beforehand, relevant to their respective positions in the student community, but each interview also generated more follow-up questions on the go. With the president of the student board (Jenna) and the chief editor of the magazine (Laura), my questions focused on their awareness and perceptions of language policies of any levels to be observed at the meeting settings, their consciousness about the language choice in those settings, and potential factors influencing those choices. With the third student, Victor, I focused on his views on the parallel use of English and Finnish at the English student community. The interviews turned out to be of very equal length, all around 30 minutes long, which supports their comparability with each other.

4 Analysis

This chapter covers the analysis of my own data sources from macro- to micro perspective. The chapter is divided into three subsections. In section 4.1 I report my observations on the official language policy document issued by the university. In section 4.2 I present my analysis on the conversational data I gathered from two of the English student organisation's board meetings and two of the English student magazine's editorial meetings. Finally, in section 4.3 I report on the individual interviews I conducted with the three hand-picked students, analysing the conversations I had with them on the basis of my research questions.

4.1 The Official Language Policy of the University

The official document of the language policy of the university is a 68-page document available as a PDF-file on the university's official website. It contains the same set of language policy and guideline strategies in Finnish, Swedish and English. For the purposes of this study I will consider the English version. The language policy document is divided into two main sections. The first section presents the set of language policies and guidelines to be observed at the academic environment and the second section explains how the policies are implemented in practice in teaching, research and administration.

The document seems to be making three main points about language choices at the university. Firstly, the document declares in general terms multilingualism and internationalism to be an asset for the university. It bases the support for students and staff's wide language skills on the need to be able to participate in international research; multilingualism also enables a better understanding between cultures, which in turn encourages creative thinking and reinforces a sense of community in the academy.

The message of institutional support for multilingualism at the university seems clear here, especially as the guideline document begins with these ideas. However, in the next part the guide makes a strong point of the significance of prioritizing the national languages, Finnish and Swedish, both in the academic education and in

social interaction in the university environment. Appealing to the university's status as an educational institution, the document reserves the institution's right to safeguard the national languages, taking on a responsibility to ensure and protect their status as languages of science, research and academic education, as well as media of social interaction. Interestingly situated, the paragraph conveying these ideals follows straight after the previous one speaking for multilingualism. These statements suggest prioritizing support for the national languages, to the extent of ideological responsibility.

Yet still, as the third perceivable point after this, the document also declares an equal responsibility for internationalization, this time appealing to the university's status as a research institution. It also acknowledges the university's appeal for international students and staff members and its participation in an international research environment. Finally the document elaborates on the issue of using English as the internationalizing tool of communication, acknowledging the status of English language as an academic lingua franca. The document issues that, as an international institution the university must participate in the internationalized research environment by supporting the communication between people from different linguistic backgrounds who share English as a common language. This, however, is not supposed to be in any conflict with the prioritization of the status of the national languages, Finnish and Swedish, as the three languages may be used in parallel in research, teaching and social interaction between the members of the university community.

All in all, the policy appears rather complex in its own instructions, to say the least. Supporting multilingualism but bearing responsibility to securing the position of the national languages, while also not jeopardizing the international position of the university in terms of research is more easily said that done, and continues to be a topic of lively debate in the academic field.

Conducting my study from the student point of view, I am interested in the relationship or connection between the official, institutional language policy of the university and the policy or policies observed by the students as a specific community of practice. Are they aware of the official language policy of the university and does it affect the language practices that they employ in in-group

written or verbal communication?

Looking at the matter from my study's perspective, the English students' community administration, I make the following initial observations: the university's official language policy document does not explicitly issue an official policy or guidelines for the language choice in the kind of student settings that I am considering in my study. Moreover, according to my student interviews, which I shall discuss more in an section 4.3, neither the president of the student board nor the chief editor of the magazine explicitly recognised or acknowledged any official policy from above that they would be intentionally obeying or observing in their respective leading positions; they would rather base any choices regarding language on what they considered to be the most practical one for the situation at hand, or merely on "tradition", following what they had seen their predecessors do. I shall discuss this further below, considering and mapping out the ways of policing "from below" that must therefore be more prevalent in both the social and the administrative system of the student community.

4.2 The Meetings

4.2.1 Board meetings

At the student organisation's board meetings the language-of-interaction turned out to be Finnish; however, a significant amount of codeswitching occurred in the speech of several participants during the official meeting time. I also made noteworthy observations on language switching during the opening and the closing of the meetings; before the official opening of the first board meeting, three participants were conversing with each other in a bilingual medium. One of them was Victor, the third student I decided to interview afterwards, and in this particular conversation he spoke English to the other two while they replied to him in Finnish. When the meeting was officially opened by the president, Jenna, he switched to Finnish. During the meeting itself, clear majority of the codeswitching for all students who engaged in it occurred intra-sententially on lexical level, but there were a few instances of inter-sentential codeswitching.

Similar linguistic behaviour was noted in the second board meeting. Victor would speak English with the person next to him while others spoke Finnish to each other, until the president opened the meeting, whereupon Victor, too, switched to Finnish. At the second meeting also, the codeswitching that occurred was lexical, phrasal and sentential, and the majority of it was done by Victor, and Jenna, the president of the board. Jenna would mostly codeswitch on a lexical and phrasal level while Victor did it on all of the three levels. Moreover, I noticed that Victor would increasingly switch to English towards the end of the meeting, both when addressing the president and the other participants, and when speaking aside on personal matters to the student next to him. The president and the other members would still address him in Finnish, apart from one instance with the president where the interaction got humorously heated; interestingly, in that instance she switched to English for as many turns as Victor.

Having found these codeswitching themes at the meetings, I divided the codeswitching occurrences into four categories, three of which are intra-sentential codeswitching and the fourth one inter-sentential. The first category is simply **English concepts** (1), which covers for example specific reoccurring events or parties organised by the student organisation for which no Finnish term exists or is generally very rarely used. Events like these are for example different thematic bake sales to raise money for the organisation, or leisure excursions such as pub or museum crawls. The second category is **English loans** (2), by which I mean words that could be considered also as anglicisms, words within Finnish sentences uttered applying Finnish pronunciation and inflectional rules. The third intra-sentential category I have titled just as **Lexical** (3), to distinguish it from the fourth category that I dedicated for inter-sentential (or, phrasal/sentential) codeswitching. The third category covers singular English words or compound words used within a Finnish sentence, but uttered with a clear English pronunciation and with no or minimal Finnish inflection. The main distinction between categories 2 and 3 is that the loan words in category 2 could be considered neologisms in Finnish, as they have an established Finnish pronunciation and even Finnish orthography. The words falling under category 3, in turn, are clearly marked English words dropped within a Finnish sentence, possibly for the sake of convenience or speed due to a temporal inability to retrieve the Finnish word. Gardner-Chloros uses the term “economical” or “apt”

expression for this sort of codeswitching type (Gardner-Chloros et al., 2000:1310). As mentioned above, after distinguishing the three lexical-level codeswitching categories I made a separate fourth category for phrasal and (inter-)sentential codeswitching, titled **Sentential** (4) in my data. It is worth noting, however, that strict distinction between what counts as codeswitching and what as merely borrowing, for example, was not always self-evident and clear-cut, and highly depends on interpretation. For example, phrases such as "oh my god", "I'm so excited" and "that's amazing", frequently used by Victor, could be treated as borrowed exclamations rather than actual codeswitching, but in my data I decided to treat such phrases as inter-sentential codeswitching to avoid over-complicating my categories.

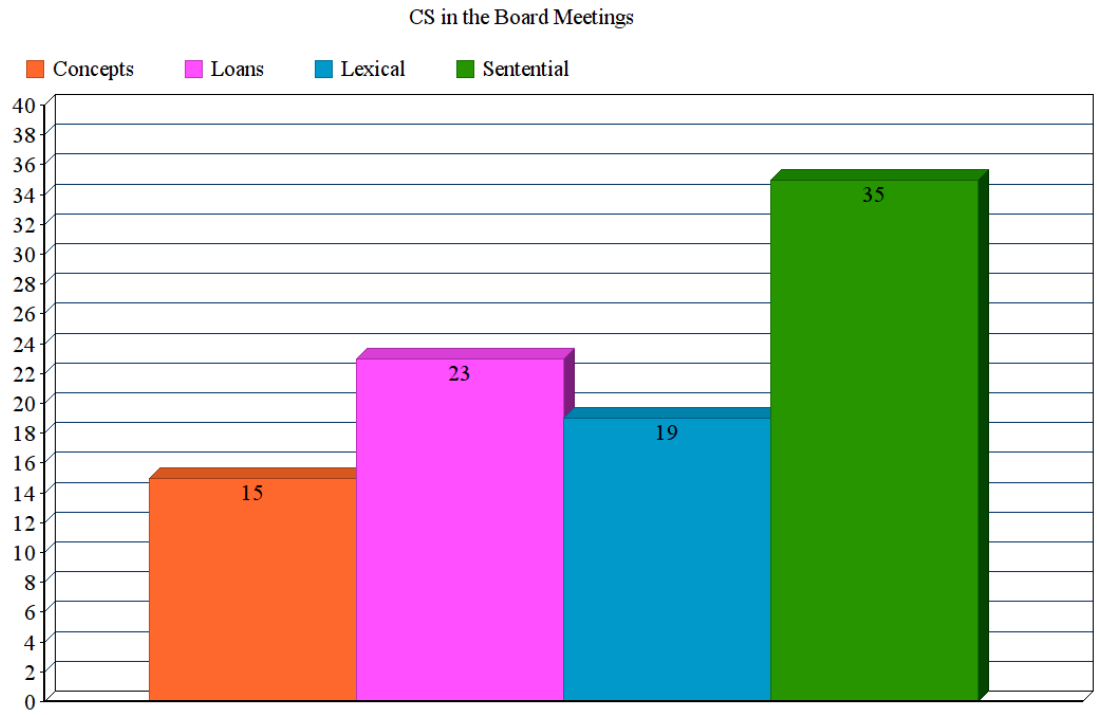

Figure 1. Total amount of codeswitching in the board meetings

Figure 1 illustrates the overall distribution of codeswitching types in the board meetings in general. The figure indicates that all in all, the distribution comes rather even for categories 1, 2 and 3, with the Concept category (1) being the smallest with 15 occurrences, while the fourth category of Sentential codeswitching takes the

general lead with 35. The Loans category (4) and inter-sentential Lexical category (3) come out quite equally at 23 and 19 occurrences, respectively.

What is definitely worth noticing, however, is that the student assembly would significantly affect the outcome of the codeswitching application of the meeting, which becomes evident in Figures 2 and 3.

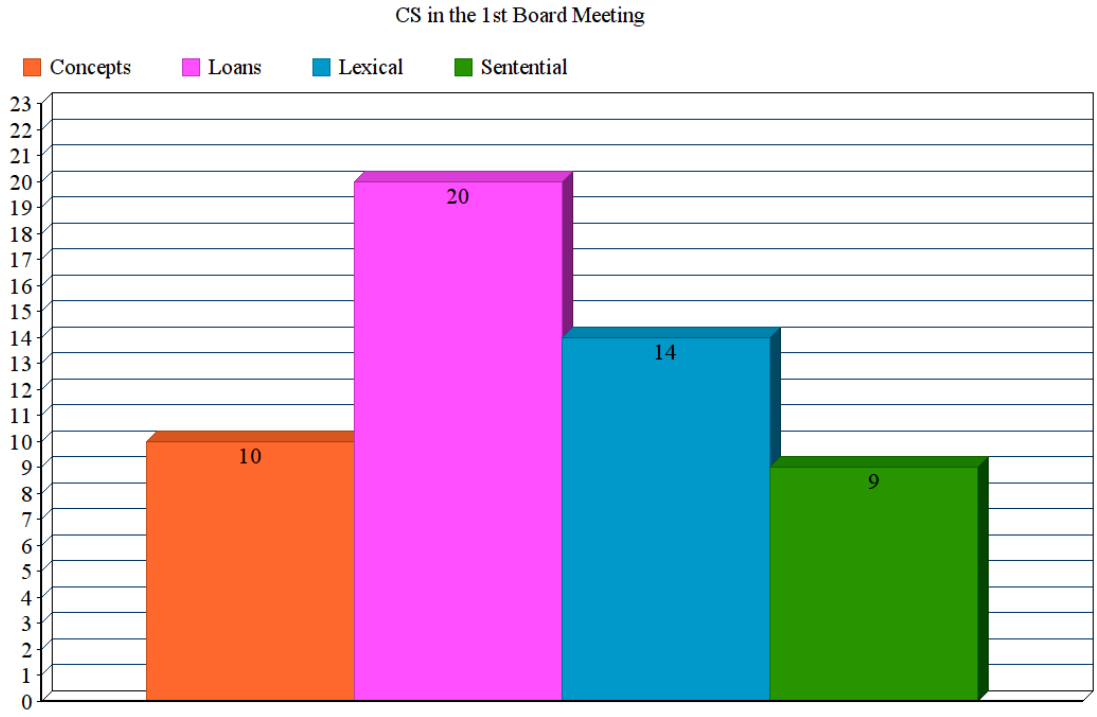

Figure 2. Codeswitching in the 1st board meeting

Figure 2 illustrates the codeswitching results in the first of the two board meetings I attended. The distribution is quite different to the average of the two meetings: in the first board meeting, the use of different kinds of anglicisms and loan words was clearly the dominating type with 20 occurrences, whilst the use of phrasal and sentential codeswitching was the least occurring type with only nine. The different ratios in the average figure are explained by the distribution of the second meeting:

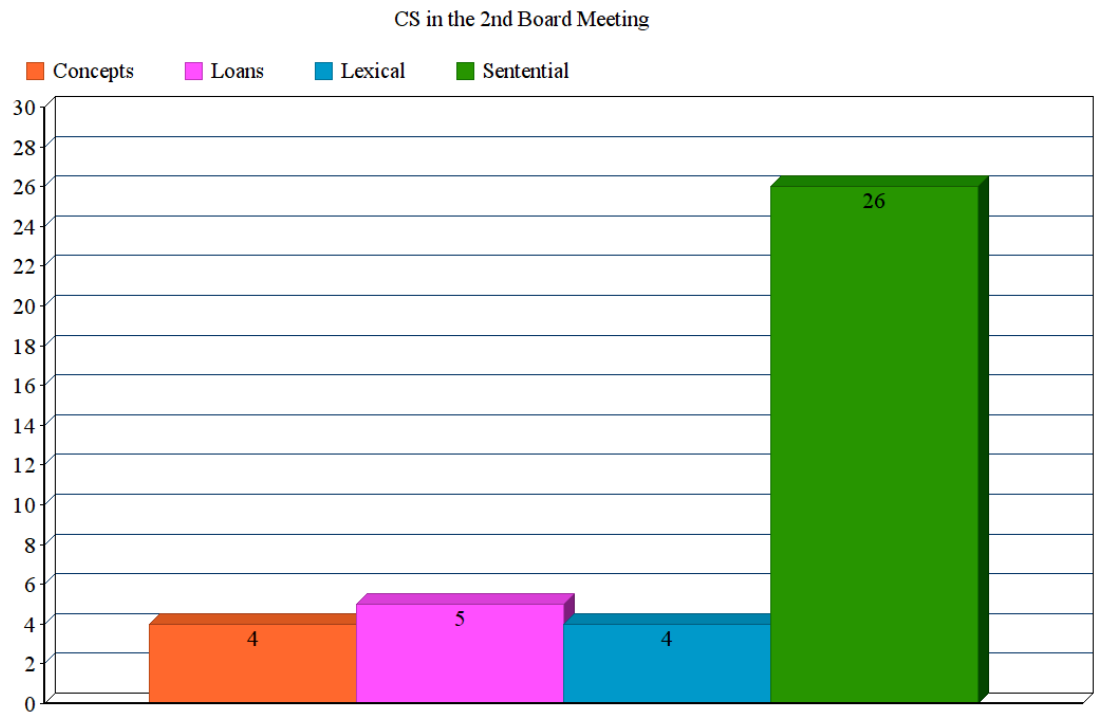

Figure 3. Codeswitching in the 2nd board meeting

Figure 3 illustrates the codeswitching results in the second board meeting. Here the phrasal and sentential codeswitching clearly dominates the other types. These notable differences in the results can be explained by different assemblies of students being present at the meetings, and their different ways and degrees of applying codeswitching in their speech. The peak position of the category for Loans in the first board meeting (Figure 2) can be explained by a presence of a particularly talkative member, "Eetu", who used a lot of intra-sentential codeswitching, which raised the overall frequency of that category. Eetu was absent in the latter board meeting, which seemed to give way to Victor, who, in addition to intra-sentential codeswitching also used a lot of inter-sentential codeswitching. Victor took the floor significantly more in the latter meeting and hence there was a notable rise in sentential codeswitching in Figure 3.

Below I shall present and discuss some examples of each type. In the following excerpts from the two sets of meetings, I indicate codeswitching by using emphasis on the marked language choices in each setting: switches to English in the student board meetings and switches to Finnish in the magazine's editorial meetings (to be

discussed in section 4.2.2). I also provide full English translations of the transcriptions immediately below the original transcriptions. In the English translations I have left the emphases on their original places.

The examples in Excerpt 1 demonstrate cases of cultural concepts, the names of which are so established in English that they are always referred to in those terms: St Patrick's Day and the American Independence Day Fourth of July, which has its own celebration tradition in the English student community of this university.

Excerpt 1

Category 1: Concepts

(Context: president and another student discuss the overlapping of the organisations anniversary party and St Patrick's day, which has usually had its own party)

Eetu: tajusin just et vujut on viikkoo myöhemmin ku ne yleensä on

Jenna: hm

Eetu: *st patrick's day* on lauantai seittemästoist [PAUSE] march

Jenna: aha okei [PAUSE] meil ei viime vuonna ollu mitää *st patrick's day* mitää

[Eetu: I just realised that the anniversary party is a week later than usually

Jenna: hm

Eetu: *St Patrick's Day* is on Saturday, the seventeenth of [PAUSE] March

Jenna: oh okay [PAUSE] last year we didn't have anything on *St Patrick's Day*]

(Context: discussing an upcoming picnic in celebration of the Fourth of July)

Jenna: nii se *fourth of july* on tulossa

Victor: siis mikä se on

Student1: se on niinku piknik ja siel ollaa

Victor: kenen järjestämä

Jenna: meidän

[Jenna: yeah so the *Fourth of July* thing is coming up

Victor: uh what happens there

Student1: it's like a picnic and we just hang out

Victor: arranged by whom

Jenna: us]

Other English concepts that surfaced in the discussion were for example "Culture Crawl" (a specific event arranged by a group of small art museums in a specific part of the town), "Bake Sale" (a reoccurring event arranged by the student board to raise money for the organisation by selling baked goods), "Academic Writing" (a specific English course mandatory for all English majors at the university), and a variety of specific annual theme parties arranged by the student board (see Appendix 1).

The example in Excerpt 2 presents two cases of anglicisms, or Loans. While "ständi" ("a stand", "a booth") is already quite normalised in the Finnish use, "kapkeik(ki)" (a cupcake) sounds more clumsy and foreign, with "kuppikakku" being the actual Finnish translation for a cupcake (for more examples of Category 2, see Appendix 2).

Excerpt 2

Category 2: Loans

(Context: discussing how to raise money)

Jenna: mä mietin jotai tosi simppelii sinne ravintolapäivään tyyliin et jos ihmiset tykkää tehä jotai kapkeikkei et vois tehä jonku ständin [erään opiskelijatilan] eteen

[Jenna: I was thinking something very simple for the Restaurant Day like if people would like to make some cupcakes and we could put up a stand in front of the [student venue][2]

The example in Excerpt 3 demonstrates a case of using a random English word uttered with English pronunciation in between an otherwise Finnish sentence. Laura's pausing before choosing to use the English word "access" suggests her motivation to use the word to be a momentary loss of the Finnish equivalent for it, and then going for the English word for the sake of convenience and expressive economy. The same phenomenon could be observed in Eetu's line in the Excerpt 1 above when he uses the English word for March, preceded with a pause. In the second example below in Excerpt 3, Victor does not hesitate before using the English word for July but his laughter immediately afterwards and his repetition of the word with amused emphasis indicates that he acknowledges his unintentional use of the marked code (for more examples of Category 3, see Appendix 3).

Excerpt 3

Category 3: Lexical

(Context: discussing the student magazine's finances and bank account)

Laura: et me ei tarvita siihen (tiliin) sillee [PAUSE] *access*iä

[Laura: so we don't need any *access* to the account really]

[2] The official name of the building hidden by categorising to conceal the location.

(Context: discussing the Fourth of July)

Kaisa: eksä oo sillo jenkeis

Victor: ei ku mä lähen kolmaskymmenes *july*ta [LAUGHS] *july*ta(!)

[Kaisa: aren't you in the US at that point

Victor: no I leave on the 30th of *July* [LAUGHS] *July*(!)]

In the first board meeting (Figure 2), out of the nine sentential or phrasal codeswitching occurrences six were uttered by Victor. Most of them were separate turns commenting on what other people had said but he also applied intra-sentential codeswitching not limited to singular word items. Two instances of sentential and phrasal codeswitching were uttered by the president of the board. One of them was her reading passages from a document written in English out loud, where she partly translated her reading in Finnish and partly read straight from the text. The other instance was her engaging in a humorously toned argument with Victor where she switched to English for nearly as many turns as Victor. All these instances are demonstrated in the following excerpts of Excerpt 4:

Excerpt 4

Category 4: Sentential

(Context: discussing the safety code-of-conduct for student events)

Victor: meil oli se turvallisuuskoulutus nii siin oli sellanen *general* turvallisuusopas

Jenna: ainii tää mä unohin ihan tän

Victor: *they encouraged us to make our own for our specific* ainejärjestö et me tehään se meidän omaks sellaseks et [PAUSE] *add rules subtract rules whatever else* ni mä aattelin jos meil on se komitea ihmisiä jotka tekee sen ni

meil olis ens vuoden kaikille bileille sellanen niinku opas ihmisille jotka on turvallisuuskomiteassa

[Victor: we had that safety training and they had a kind of *general* safety guide

Jenna: oh yeah this thing I had completely forgotten about this

Victor: *they encouraged us to make our own for our specific* subject organisation so that we make it into our own like [PAUSE] *add rules subtract rules whatever else* so I thought that if we have that committee of people who make it then next year at every party we'd have like instructions for people who are in the safety committee]

(Context: the president reads out loud requirements for getting funding for events from the university)

Jenna: tääl on itseasias mä löysin nää slaidit ni tääl on konserttei, bändi-iltoi, paneeleita, *treasure hunts, escape rooms, assassin games, lections, seminars, exhibitions* blaablaablaablaa sit tääl on kriteereitä *quality well-produced events which fulfil the goals that we set for the events* [INAUDIBLE] ja *openness* ja sit tääl on myös et ne antaa jopa tonnin avustust sitä eventtii varten ja myöskin *help with marketing and other support*

[Jenna: here I actually found these [Power Point] slides, they list concerts, band nights, panels, *treasure hunts, escape rooms, assassin games, lections, seminars, exhibitions* yadda-yadda-yadda then there are the criteria *quality well-produced events which fulfil the goals that we set for the events* [INAUDIBLE] and *openness* and then there's also that they might give up to one thousand euros grant for the event and also *help with marketing and other support*]

(Context: discussing an upcoming dinner party open for all students arranged by the university at a central market place of the town)

Victor: siis istumapaikka kuus euroo(!) iha järjetön *oh my god to sit outside and everything it's public property*(!)

Jenna: *it's not free*(!)

Victor: *it's not cool*(!)

Jenna: siis ne joutuu ostaa sinne kaikki jätteenkuljetukset ja järkkärit ja bajamajat ja esiintyjät

Victor: esiintyjät(!)

Jenna: joo

Victor: *ok now it's fine*

Jenna: *did you not read the info*(!)

Victor: *no not at all*(!) [LAUGHTER] *I was just gonna show up*

[Victor: what a seat costs six euros(!) that's insane *oh my god to sit outside and everything it's public property*(!)

Jenna: *it's not free*(!)

Victor: *it's not cool*(!)

Jenna: I mean they have to hire waste delivery service and security officers and portable toilets and performers

Victor: performers(!)

Jenna: yeah

Victor: *ok now it's fine*

Jenna: ***did you not read the info*****(!)**

Victor: ***no not at all*****(!) [LAUGHTER]** ***I was just gonna show up*****]**

As mentioned above, the significant difference between the statistics of the meetings was largely explained by the different assemblies of students present in the respective meetings. Eetu, who was an active user of intra-sentential codeswitching, was absent in the second meeting, whereas Victor, using the most inter-sentential codeswitching of them all, not only took many speaking turns in the second meetings but also spoke "aside" to the people sitting next to him, and marked many of his aside comments with English. More examples of inter-sentential codeswitching are illustrated in Excerpt 5 (also see Appendix 4):

Excerpt 5

Category 4: Sentential (continued)

(Context: discussing how to get new freshmen involved in the organisation)

Jenna: ohan siin fuksipassis se et osallistu [hallituksen] kokoukseen

Victor: ööh oli viime vuonna ja kylhä *we're planning on doing it this year too*

[Jenna: there's the requirement in the freshman pass to attend a [student board] meeting

Victor: uhh yeah there was last year and ***we're planning on doing it this year too*****]**

(Context: discussing a picnic in celebration of the Fourth of July)

Victor: miksei kukaan täält oo ollu siel [LAUGHTER]

Jenna: kesäl on töitä ja kaikkee

Victor: aa nii [PAUSE] *I want – y'all better come celebrate my country*(!)

Student1: mä oon puolassa sillo

Victor: *first you're in London then you're in Poland out of all places*(!) *that's really cool though but still not fair* [LAUGHTER]

[Victor: why hasn't anyone in here been there [LAUGHTER]

Jenna: everyone is working in the summer and all

Victor: oh right [PAUSE] *I want – y'all better come celebrate my country*(!)

Student1: I'll be in Poland then

Victor: *first you're in London then you're in Poland out of all places*(!) *that's really cool though but still not fair* [LAUGHTER]]

The interaction extracts in Excerpt 5 illustrate more typical examples of sentential codeswitching engaged by the students, Victor in particular. Both examples demonstrate casual bilingual turn-taking, and the latter one more specifically is also an illustration of a split in the conversation, as Victor and another student start talking "aside" on more personal terms about a matter related to what was discussed amongst the board as a whole. This kind of conversation splitting, or, "schisming" (Egbert 1997) would often prompt codeswitching on Victor's part, as seen above, and the discussion would often be brought back together by the president encouraging monolingually Finnish interaction again. I will discuss these linguistic negotiation devices further in Chapter 5.

4.2.2 Magazine's editorial meetings

When I asked the student magazine's chief editor "Laura" for permission to attend the editorial meetings, I also asked what the language-of-interaction would be. Laura told me that the language in the editorial meetings was always English, regardless of the linguistic backgrounds of the participants. This turned out to be true most of the time, but just like in the board meetings, codeswitching occurred upon the shifts of opening and closing the meetings and even during the meetings, even if to a significantly lesser extent than in the board meeting. For this reason, for the codeswitching in the magazine's editorial meetings I have not distinguished such distinctive categories as for the board meetings; I shall only demonstrate the more simple method of codeswitching with examples from the second editorial meeting.

At the first editorial meeting that I attended, the early-comers spoke in Finnish while we were still waiting for a few expected participants to appear. As soon as they arrived, Victor amongst them, everyone switched to English regardless of who they were speaking with and Laura opened the meeting. When the meeting was officially closed, people stayed for an informal conversation where they continued speaking English together. During the meeting the participants spoke consistently in English and codeswitching did not occur in the same way as in the student organisation's board meetings. The only instances of Finnish seemed to be concepts that exist only or primarily in Finnish, e.g. the names of places, events, and specific parts of town.

Similarly to the first editorial meeting, in the second one the language-of-interaction was English. As mentioned earlier, I was personally not present at the meeting but instead authorised the chief editor, Laura, to tape-record it and send the recording to me afterwards. From the audio I can hear that she started the recording approximately one minute before officially opening the meeting, and the participants can be heard speaking English already. This meeting was held at Laura's home and one participant had brought their dog with them to the meeting, and the students can be heard talking about the dog's excessive drooling before Laura opens the meeting. During the meeting, the dog interrupted the discussion a few times by for example intruding in the meeting space, jumping onto forbidden surfaces and gnawing on a houseplant, thus distracting the participants from the meeting matters. The dog "spoke" Finnish so mainly the owner would command him in Finnish while the

others continued the discussion in English, although some of them occasionally joined in in reprimanding the dog. Excerpt 6 demonstrates such an interruption at a crucial moment in the meeting, where "Jeppe"[3] is the dog:

Excerpt 6

(Context: students are about to vote for the new chief editor but the dog keeps interrupting)

Laura: ok that means that we should vote for the next chief editor

Petra: *alas alas*

Iida: *Jeppe nyt*(!) *nyt on tärkee*(!)

[LAUGHTER]

Viivi: *maahan* [PAUSE] *maahan* [PAUSE] *maahan* [PAUSE] *hyvä poika*

Laura: I don't know how to do the actual like how you're supposed to do a like

Joonas: all in favour

Victor: all in favour all against

Laura: ok all right all in favour of Siiri being the next chief editor

[Laura: ok that means that we should vote for the next chief editor

Petra: *get down get down*

Iida: *Jeppe now(!) this is important(!)*

[LAUGHTER]

[3] Dog renamed to protect the owner's identity as they might be indirectly identifiable by some student colleagues.

Viivi: *down* [PAUSE] *down* [PAUSE] *down* [PAUSE] *good boy*

Laura: I don't know how to do the actual like how you're supposed to do a like

Joonas: all in favour

Victor: all in favour all against

Laura: ok all right all in favour of Siiri being the next chief editor]

Most of the instances where the dog interrupted the discussion were dealt with in the manner illustrated above. The owner of the dog and some of the other students reacted to the dog in Finnish while the chief editor continued matter-of-factly in English, ignoring the dog despite being interrupted. In a couple of instances of interruptions, however, when several of the meeting participants started speaking Finnish to the dog, or to each other about the dog, clearly distracted by him, the chief editor switched to English slightly more emphatically, for example by using repetition at the start of her turns. A case like this is demonstrated in Excerpt 7:

Excerpt 7

Iida: *Jeppe alas*

Petra: *alas alas alas alas* [PAUSE] *istu*

Iida: *paikka*

Petra: *hyvä*

Laura: uhhh

Petra: *ei*

Iida: *alas* [PAUSE] *joko se alko taas*(!)

Laura: then on the topic of

Petra: *ei ei ei ei*

Iida: [LAUGHS]

Laura: on the topic of social media I wanna say big thank you to Viivi

[Iida: *Jeppe get down*

Petra: *get down get down get down get down* [PAUSE] *sit*

Iida: *stay*

Petra: *good*

Laura: uhhh

Petra: *no*

Iida: *get down* [PAUSE] *did you start again now*(!)

Laura: then on the topic of

Petra: *no no no no*

Iida: [LAUGHS]

Laura: on the topic of social media I wanna say big thank you to Viivi]

In the excerpt above we can see that Laura does not explicitly intervene in the interaction between the dog and other students or instruct them to refocus in Finnish, but instead after first implicitly expressing her desire for everyone's attention ("uhhh") she decides to redirect them by repeating the beginning of her comment until she gets their full attention.

4.3 Students on the language practices

In section 4.1 above I described the contents of the official language policy document of the university, therefore responding to my research question number 1). To reiterate, the main targets set by the official policy were a) to support multilingualism in the academic environment b) to prioritise and protect the status of the national languages, Finnish and Swedish, in the academic environment and c) to support the use of English in order to avoid jeopardising the university's position in the international research field. To answer research questions 2), 3) and 4) I considered the conversational data from the meetings I attended and the interviews I conducted with the three students, Jenna, Laura and Victor.

Question number 2) concerned the students' perceived policies regarding language choice between English and Finnish in the student community and its administration. The main responses I received from all my interviewees were quite similar and simple regarding this question. The common initial position for the president of the student board, Jenna, and the chief editor for the magazine, Laura, was that neither of them expressed or admitted to observing any particular language policies that would have been specifically issued by the university, or even the umbrella organisation for all the student organisations of the university. However, there were still interesting details and variations in their statements that I considered worth addressing. First of all, the languages-of-interaction were opposing in the student organisation board and the student magazine's editorial board, while both the president of the student board and the chief editor of the magazine told me that they were not observing any particular policies regarding language choice in their respective settings. The only hint of any kind of perceived policy being observed came from Jenna (the president of the student board), when she justified the language-of-interaction in the board being Finnish with the fact that this was a Finnish university, and "all student organisations at the university are officially Finnish-speaking". However, she told me that at the opening of every meeting the board is supposed to inquire whether there is someone attending the meeting who would prefer to have it in English. This is supposed to take into account for example any exchange students, or students who are for other reasons more fluent in English. Recalling one meeting where an exchange student attending requested English, Jenna reported the proceeding of the meeting to have felt "slower" than usually. Therefore she argued that Finnish as the

language choice is rather a matter of practicality, as it is quicker to have the meetings in Finnish if all participants are fluent in it. This is largely due to the fact that many terms and concepts under discussion are in Finnish and the agenda of each meeting is handled in Finnish. Jenna further argued that it was also easier to write down the meeting minutes, which are always written in Finnish.

To any further questions regarding her personal views and choices to stick to Finnish as the meeting language, Jenna told me that she had not given many thoughts about it. She explained that language-wise she was running the board as the presidents preceding her, that is, in her experience, in Finnish by default. In my interview later with Victor, the student active both in the board and the student magazine, he said that he was also not aware of any policies or guidelines dictating language choice in the administrative student settings, but mentioned being under the impression that the official language of the university's student organisations was Finnish, which was why he did not ask for English, even if he might have wanted to. I discuss Victor's point of view and opinions on language choice further below.

The chief editor for the magazine, Laura, gave very similar responses to the president of the board regarding language choice principals. Laura reported that while the language-of-interaction and administration has always been English for the magazine, there were no specific official written-down policies being observed in the editorial board. The practice is rather rooted in convention, stemming from the founding background of the magazine (which involved a student with American background), and justified by the magazine being a purely English-speaking medium. In this sense Laura's ideas on the language choice at the editorial meetings hold the same basis as Jenna's at the board meetings. However, another reason Laura gives is that there have always been many non-Finnish-speaking students writing for the magazine so English as the language choice has been supported by the aspect of inclusiveness.

Question number 3) addressed the alignment of the actual language practices with the official or perceived policies regarding language choice between English and Finnish in the student settings. When I asked the president for permission to attend the meetings for linguistic study purposes, she welcomed me but informed me that

the meeting will most likely be held in Finnish and wondered whether I could get usable data for my English MA thesis. As demonstrated above in section 4.2.1, apart from the occasional codeswitcing behaviour, this turned out to be mainly the case. Furthermore, in the board meeting all the administrative documents and guidelines regarding the board's activities are written in Finnish and the meetings have always been held in Finnish by default unless there are any participants present who request English. Jenna told me that in practice this is asked when there are noticeably new people attending the meeting, which mainly occurs in the early autumn as new freshmen attend, and this step might be skipped later in the year if all participants are already familiar. For example, neither of the spring-time meetings I attended included this question and the president opened the meetings directly in Finnish. As mentioned previously, Jenna reported that minutes were always written in Finnish as well, and so they were in the meetings I attended, too. At one point the board members even dictated a monolingual Finnish summary of a conversation that had been conducted bilingually for the secretary to write down in the minutes. However, this from-below Finnish-only policy applies only to the meeting settings, as all public invitations and agendas for upcoming board meetings are always written in both Finnish and English. The minutes are not released publicly by default but as the meetings are open for all English students to attend, the minutes are also available upon asking after the meetings, yet only in Finnish.

In contrast to the preference for Finnish in the meeting settings, all official online communication and announcements regarding the student organisation and its events, parties and excursions on the organisation's official website, Facebook page and Instagram account are in English only. However, Jenna told me that the board's inside group chat on Facebook is conducted in Finnish for everyone except Victor who often writes his comments in English, just as he often switches to English in the otherwise Finnish-speaking board meetings. Jenna said that during her time as the president she has never explicitly negotiated the matter of language choice with Victor, and mentioned that it is mostly the other students on Victor's year that seem to speak English with him.

In the editorial board of the student magazine the language choice seems to be much more coherent. As was demonstrated above in section 4.2.2, the language medium in

the editorial meetings was very consistently English, with only the Finnish-speaking dog present in one of the meetings inciting Finnish interactions in the setting. Laura told me that English is usually the language-of-interaction both at the meetings and mostly also outside of them. The magazine has a closed Facebook group where the communication is all in English, and all public announcements of upcoming meetings and new issues are written in English. However, private messaging between the writers can be in English or Finnish, with no perceivable logic other than depending on who started the conversation in which language. Laura claims to be generally quite unconscious about language choice outside of the administrative formalities. For example, upon asking whether switch from Finnish to English before the first editorial meeting the minute Victor walked in was a conscious action, she said that it was not something she actively thought about. Laura however mentions being aware that both Victor and another magazine writer, Joonas, prefer English, so that might play as a factor when switching from one language to another. So even if the switches might be unconscious, one could argue that there seem to be some elements of audience design and addressee specification influencing the interaction and language choice in the editorial board.

My research question number 4) was set to map out the kinds of opinions and perceptions that the students have about the languages and language choices made in the student settings. This part of the study revealed some interesting contrasting points of view from my interviewees, which, I argue, might have been partly influenced by their individual personal backgrounds as much as their positions in the student community. The main contrasts concerned the viewpoints of practicality and linguistic and/or academic identity, which turned out to be the main factors influencing the perceptions on language choice for the students. These viewpoints, in turn, might have been influenced by the students' personal backgrounds, history of upbringing and living locations. All the three interviewees had some level of experience in living in a multilingual environment. The president of the student board, Jenna, had grown up and done all her studies in Finland, but had spent some time as an au pair in an English-speaking country after Finnish high school. The chief editor of the magazine, Laura, was born in Finland but lived abroad in a non-English-speaking country as a child and received the majority of her basic education in an English-speaking school. The third student, Victor, was born in the US and had

been living several years both in Finland and the US during his life. He is a concurrent bilingual in Finnish and English and considers them both as his mother tongues, although he feels slightly more fluent in English and considers it his first language.

Out of the three interviewees Jenna seemed to be the least personally opinionated about the choice between English and Finnish in the administrative student settings. She did not voice any clear preferences for either language but rather tended to appeal more to what she perceived the common language conventions at particular settings to be, and followed along. Laura and Victor both expressed a strong personal preference for English in the analysed settings. In Victor's case this was partly due to his slightly better fluency in English, and Laura in turn said that having received much of her basic education in English, using it in academic settings came "naturally" to her, even more so than Finnish, to the extent that she even mentioned finding it "strange" that the default language-of-interaction in the English student board or other English student events or settings would be Finnish. During her tenure as the chief editor for the magazine there has been one editorial meeting held in Finnish and Laura described this experience as "feeling weird", even though during the years of her being a writer for the magazine in general she claims that there has been a change to a more "relaxed" language environment where Finnish is also "occasionally allowed". However, Laura considered it reasonable to speak English in the meetings because that also strengthens the English skills of the writers. She also saw speaking English as a significant part of "our identity as Finnish English professionals" and for these reasons she would personally decline requests to have the meetings in Finnish, but so far none has been made.

Victor had very similar thoughts on the language choice in the student environment, admitting to expecting English in the student board and in other student activities, as "we are English students". In addition to questions about linguistic and academic identity, Victor said that while he did perceive it to be a general policy and that all other subject organisations were Finnish-speaking, he admitted to expecting that it would be "easier" in the English student organisation to use English as a default shared language. He added that while he thought that what counted was "the environment [that is] set with language", that "no language should be put above

another" and that he considers the administrative-level communication justifiable to be always in Finnish, Swedish and English, he nevertheless feels that in the English department and student activities it would be reasonable to prioritise English. Upon asking about his views on Finnish as the default language in the board meetings, he revealed that he would like to ask for English but he feels somewhat uncomfortable, as he would be the only one requesting it. However, it is not "a major problem" for him to speak Finnish in the informal and semi-formal student settings and he did not want to "bother" the others with it. He said that he was afraid that it would be more "bothersome" for the Finnish-speaking students to speak English in the board meeting settings, for example. Therefore he also seemed, as Laura in the editorial board, to employ addressee specification when thinking of language choice with the other students. However, all in all, Victor said that he was "positively surprised and relieved" about how easily the university in general provided him with freedom to choose English where he wanted, as he had been worried about having to use Finnish at the university when he applied.

5 Discussion

Now, considering my own data analysis further against my theoretical background and earlier case studies, I was able to observe several parallel phenomena manifesting in these sources. Applying macro and micro perspectives in my data collection enabled me to acquire a multi-layered picture of the language policy and language choice in the English student community. Reflecting the university's official language policy document, the conversational data from the student meetings, and the personal interviews conducted with three different students from the community against each other I was not only able to describe the relationship between policy and practice and the different factors impacting the choices, but also notice certain common patterns surfacing in multilingual student environments.

Looking back at Spolsky (2012) and Nekvapil's (2006) ideas on the components and management of *language policy*, it may be defined as a set of rules mandated by a body of authority that aims at establishing and regulating the language choice practices that are deemed valuable, appropriate and practical for that specific speech community and the goals it is trying to achieve. However, as was noted, the process of establishing and maintaining a permanent language policy is rarely possible, and is best considered as an on-going process of continual management, always adapted to the situation in practice. Practicality and questions of communal or personal identity often prove more significant influencers of linguistic behaviour over institutional guidelines, if allowed to apply freely. The results in both Härmävaara (2017) and Mortensen's (2014) studies suggested that the language policies where implemented bottom-up rather than top-down, negotiated and interpreted by the students themselves. Härmävaara's study found that the students she studied were very varyingly aware of the exact contents of the RM language policy, and the interpretations were passed down orally through generations by practice (see 2.4.1). Mortensen similarly found that the students in his study were communally responsible for policing each other in studying settings, perceptively renegotiating language choice, based partly on participants in each settings and partly on student identity (see 2.4.2).

This largely mirrors what came up in my own data analysis and interviews with the students. The students in leadership positions admitted to not observing any specific

institutionally imposed policies, or even being much aware of such policies, and mainly explained their methods concerning language choice in their respective settings by what they deemed the most practical considering the setting and the goals of the interaction. This is what Spolsky (2012) categorised as the "first component" of language policy, the "real" language policy, which is based on the actual language practices of the speech community. This first component of practicality more often than not bypasses the institutionally imposed "ideals" constructed as rules and regulations, which are only the third component of Spolsky's language policy theory. Where the president of the board justified the choice of Finnish by all the documentation being done in Finnish, and the majority of usual participants and board officials being native Finnish speakers, the chief editor of the magazine justified the choice of English in the editorial meetings by the fact that the magazine is an English-speaking medium, and it often features written pieces from students who are not native Finnish-speakers, which supports the use of English in the editorial meetings as well. This reasoning by both Jenna and Laura also mirror Preisler's (2009) principle of complementary languages, which in a particular conversational setting predicts the use of the most suitable language that everyone shares; in the case of the board meetings Finnish, in the case of the magazine's editorial meetings English.

Of course, another important factor influencing language choice for the students was the question of identity, which seemed to carry a lot of meaning for the students, regardless of which language they preferred to use. Identity expression or concealment is also part of Spolsky's first component of language policy, and this part goes hand-in-hand with the second component, which comprises of all the different values that the members of the speech community assign to each language or code in the community repertoire. Some of the students in my study saw more value in using English over Finnish even in situations where all participants where native Finnish speakers due to their strong identification as English students and future English professionals; both Laura and Victor brought up these kinds of viewpoints when I interviewed them on their perceptions on language practices in the student community. Similar attitudes had been also noted by Mortensen (2014) at Roskilde University where many students studying in the international program seemed to feel strong inclination to using English in all academic settings as an

inseparable part of their identity as "international" students. My study suggested, however, that not all the students in my target community felt the same way about their linguistic identity. Other students, such as Jenna, would still prefer Finnish or at least had no specific inclination to using English all the time, and would explain this by being Finnish-speaking students at a Finnish university, after all.

These different viewpoints lead to the continuous renegotiation and in-community policing practices amongst the students. First of all, the mere occurrence of codeswitching was a manifestation of this linguistic negotiation. On one hand, most of the time codeswitching would go unaddressed, implicitly treated simply as part of the everyday interaction between the students. Examples of this phenomenon were for example the fluent bilingual interaction in the student board meetings, or the reported group chat communication between the members, depending of the personal preferences of individual participants. On the other hand, the students occasionally engaged in more straightforward practices to police and regulate each other, and to some extent, themselves. The inter-personal policing practices included for example the president of the board and the chief editor for the magazine addressing the meeting participants in the established default language of that meeting setting to indicate the opening of the meeting, or, in the case of the latter magazine editorial meeting, for example, to redirect distracted participants back to the meeting discourse. Gumperz (1987) calls this linguistic action a "contextualisation cue" where the speaker explicitly uses a specific code to frame the on-going discourse into the specific context where that code is consensually deemed the appropriate one.

A clear manifestation of self-policing came from Victor's part as he explained his motives to speak Finnish when others did it too, even if he would have preferred or seen more value in speaking English. He admitted to feeling "bothersome" to the others had he been the only one requesting English in the meetings and that is why he decided to comply with Finnish and only use English when necessary in terms of better fluency and speed. Victor's motives behind his linguistic behaviour seem to align with Myers-Scotton's (1998) *Markedness Model* and Elster's (1989) *Rational Choice model*: acknowledging his desire for English to be the marked choice in the board setting, he considered it most reasonable to comply with the unmarked Finnish, even if switching to English from time to time for his own convenience and

as a manifestation of his identity as both an English student and a mother-tongue speaker of English.

An interesting fusion of self-regulation and communal policing surfaced in my interviews with both Victor and Laura. Both students reported their specific language choices to be linked with what they presumed their interlocutors to prefer. I mentioned above that Victor complied with less-pleasant Finnish as not to be "bothersome" to the rest of the group who did not require English, but he also explained his motives by understanding that the others' preference for Finnish might stem from the fact that their skills in English were less fluent. Laura, in turn, reported that, in addition to preferring English herself, she supported English by the particular assembly of students in the editorial team at the time of our interview: she expressed being aware that two team members generally preferred English as their language medium. This type of reasoning from both Victor and Laura tie together with Gardner-Chloros' (Gardner-Chloros et al. 2000) *addressee specification* and Bell's (1984) theory of *audience design*, where the speaker adjusts their code choice according to the skills of the interlocutor(s).

While the language choices seemed for the most part to be quite collectively made, based on the particular assemblies of students present in the specific settings, it turns out some individual compromises were being made, as was revealed by my conversation with Victor. One could wonder, how welcoming or inclusive settings such as the student board meetings, where Finnish is the assumed language, are for students coming from non-Finnish linguistic backgrounds. Victor did not consider the default status of Finnish as an obstacle for him to join the board because his Finnish was fluent enough for him to participate, but in my interview he did admit to being more fluent in English and expressed a slight preference for using it, only agreeing to speak Finnish as not to be "bothersome" to the other students. This raises interesting questions in a wider context about the potential exclusivity of the administration of the student organisation, even if as implicit as this. The student community's self-monitoring of its own language practices enables, or at least suggests, a more democratic language policy system, but some questions about whose voice gets heard in such a system still remain.

6 Conclusions

In my study I observed a group of English students at a Finnish university, aiming at figuring out the ways in which this multilingual student community negotiates language choice at semi-formal administrational student settings. I wanted to see if and to what extent the official language policy issued by the university impacts the student interaction within this community, or if there are rather some community-based actions taken by the students to police themselves and each other. My data sources for this study were the official language policy document issued by the university and conversational data gathered as audio-recordings from four different meetings affiliated with the student organisation as well as three interviews that I conducted with three hand-picked individual students from the community.

6.1 Summary of Findings

The official language policy document issued by the university provided a multifaceted set of language guidelines to be observed with regards to language choice and language practices at the university. In general terms, the document expressed support for multilingualism and internationalism in the academic environment. They were seen as assets for the university at participating in international research; multilingualism was also considered an enabling factor in reaching a better understanding between cultures, which in turn was claimed to encourage creative thinking and to reinforce a sense of community in the academy. However, the document also made a point of prioritizing the national languages, Finnish and Swedish, both in the academic education and the social interaction in the university environment. Appealing to the university's status as an educational institution, the document reserved the institution's right to safeguard the national languages as languages of science, research and academic education, as well as media of social interaction. Yet still, the document declared an equal responsibility for internationalization, appealing to the university's status as a research institution and also acknowledging the university's appeal for international students and staff members.

The conversational data gathered from the student meetings revealed notable differences regarding language choice in the two settings. The board meetings were held in Finnish and the magazine meetings were in English, and this supposedly reflected the general convention for each setting. Furthermore, the Finnish-speaking board meetings included plenty of codeswitching into English by several students, some more than the others, depending on personal preferences and language skills. In contrast, the English-speaking magazine meetings were much more consistently and monolingually conducted in English; the only factor inducing codeswitching to Finnish was the accompanying Finnish-speaking dog that occasionally needed attention.

The targeted interviews that I conducted with the individual students suggested that, while there does exist an official language policy document issued by the university, the students seem to be far more concerned with policing themselves, doing the policing from below within the community itself rather than following any particular guidelines from above, from the institution. The students that I interviewed did not even seem to be particularly aware of the official policies and some of them stated straightforwardly that they were not observing any official guidelines regarding language choice in the student administration settings. From the students' point of view, the matter of language choice in the meetings, for example, seemed to come down to two main questions: the question of practicality on one hand, and the question of identity on the other. In the case of the Finnish-speaking board meetings, arguments for Finnish were justified by all the meeting documents being made in Finnish, and also as usually everyone attending was a native Finnish speaker, it was quicker to conduct the meetings in Finnish. In the case of the student magazine meetings, arguments for English were justified by the fact that the magazine was an all-English medium and therefore it was practical to discuss the plans for the upcoming contents in English. Furthermore, the students felt that speaking English in the meetings was good practice of the language skills for the writers in general.

In terms of the question of student identity, students who expressed preference for wide use of English supported their stance by their status as being English students and studying to become "Finnish English professionals". Those who preferred Finnish when given the choice, or who expressed no specific preference for English,

explained that position by the fact that the institution is, after all, a Finnish university and if everyone present is a native speaker of Finnish or at least fluent in it, why should the students insist on speaking English just for the sake of it.

6.2 Final Remarks

This study conducted on a group of English students at a Finnish university indicated that community-based language negotiation through bottom-up policing carried significantly more meaning and impact on the students' language practices than official top-down guidelines. Even if vaguely aware of any institutionally issued language policy, the students' linguistic behaviour and oral reports revealed that they saw far more value in situational practicality and questions of student identity, if the two influences were ever in conflict with each other. However, the perceptions on what was practical in which situations, and the opinions regarding the connection between language choice and student identity might vary between individual students, which leads to a constant negotiation on language choice and compromises on personal preferences being made among the students themselves.

7 Appendices

7.1 Appendix 1

(Context: culture officials report; discussing upcoming excursions)

Eetu: jatketaankohan niit *culture crawl* juttui

Valtteri: mitä

Eetu: niit ku niit oli niit galleria sellasii et niil oli se jotku päivät keväällä

[Eetu: I wonder if they're going to continue those *culture crawl* thingies

Valtteri: what

Eetu: those when they (small art galleries downtown) had those gallery things that they had those open house days in the spring]

(Context: discussing a coming-up common party with math students)

Jenna: joo siis viime vuoden pj oli samas jossai *academic writing*is Pinjan ja Jussin kaa nii sit se oli vaa yhtäkkii tajunnu et hei meil on muute samanväriset haalarit pidetääks bileet

[Jenna: yeah so last year's president was in the same *academic writing* class with Pinja and Jussi and so they had suddenly realised that hey we've got the same coloured overalls let's have a party]

7.2 Appendix 2

(Context: discussing why they never received a patch order from a certain manufacturer)

Sini: siis mä jotenki ymmärsin et ne goustas ihan täysin

Student2: siis jotenki vaa ei tyyliin vastannu

[Sini: I somehow understood that they just completely ghosted us

Student1: yeah they just never replied or something]

(Context: discussing plans to issue an equality plan/safe space code-of-conduct for the organisation)

Eetu: [opiskelijoiden kattojärjestöltä] vois kans yrittää varastaa niil oli sellane

code-of-conduct juttu minkä ne oli vääntäny jossai niilt vois varastaa kopipeistaa [LAUGH] ja muuttaa vaa kaikki nimet ja siit sais

[Eetu: we could also try to steal that thing from [the student umbrella organization] they have that *code-of-conduct* thing that they made we could steal copy-paste [LAUGH] and just change all the names and there we have it]

(Context: discussing a common party to be thrown together with math students)
Victor: onks se sit vaa chillaust vai pitääks bilevastaavan tehä jotai
Jenna: ei tarvii niil on yleensä ollu siel vaa jotai kevyttä snäkkii
[Victor: is it just chilling or is the party official expected to arrange something
Jenna: no need they usually just have some light snacks there]

7.3 Appendix 3

Laura: jos se maksaa sen verran et me ei saada ens vuonna domeinii maksettuu ni sit me ei kyllä voida sitä maksaa et sit pitää [PAUSE] tehä joku *plan B*

[Laura: if it costs so much that we can't afford the domain next year well then we won't be able to pay and we'll need to [PAUSE] come up with a *plan B*]

Victor: eiks siin lukenu jotai et *tutor training* on jotain maaliskuun vaiheil
Pipsa: joo
Eetu: yheksäs päivä
[Victor: didn't it say something that the *tutor training* is like sometime in March
Pipsa: yeah
Eetu: the ninth of]

7.4 Appendix 4

(Context: discussing how much to invest in an upcoming casual party)
Sini: meil jäi viime vuonna muutama euro yli ni me ostettii joku pari pussii sipsii siihe
Jenna: nii te olitte laskenu sen iha [INAUDIBLE]
[crosstalk in Finnish, LAUGHTER]
Victor: *it was all y'all who told me about it* [INAUDIBLE]
[Sini: last year we had a few euros extra so we bought a couple of bags of crisps there
Jenna: oh yeah you had budgeted it like [INAUDIBLE]
[crosstalk in Finnish, LAUGHTER]
Victor: *it was all y'all who told me about it* [INAUDIBLE]

(Context: discussing the instruction of new tutor students)
Victor: mut kyl mä luulisin oikeesti et vaikka on jopa niinku kipeenä et kunhan ei oo oikeesti niinku kuolemas *come on* se on niinku orientaatioviikko se on *it's the one job the tutors have* et et sun täytyy viis päivää pystyy sit *get up*
[Victor: but I do think that even if you're like sick as long as you're not like dying *come on* it's like the orientation week it's *it's the one job the tutors have* so so for five days you just have to be able to *get up*]

(Context: Victor explaining how to orientate new tutor students for their cooperative tasks)
Victor: en tiiä onks [A ja B] onks ne ikinä puhunu mitään toistensa kanssa sit [X ja Y] et niinku se ois hyvä et niinku [PAUSE] *they know each other before they go* ni yritän saada sitä kans et kaikki on yhdessä
[Victor: I don't know if [A and B] if they've ever spoken to each other and then [X and Y] so like it would be good that like [PAUSE] *they know each other before they go* so I'll try to get everyone together]

(Context: discussing an upcoming Star Wars excursion)
Victor: *it has Donald Glover in it*
Student: *I know*

(Context: discussing some upcoming party)
Victor: *that would be pretty amazing*
Jenna: no mut joo [PAUSE] onks kellää mitää muuta mitä tulis nyt mieleen
[Victor: *that would be pretty amazing*
Jenna: well yeah [PAUSE] does anyone have anything else that'd come to mind now]

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